766 that the burial ground is a place called Wunjange close to Imanga Mountain (see p. 185 [not translated]).

171 Emin Pascha reports of the Bahima (Wahuma) of Unjoro that in this region the corpse of the ruler is also smoked on a catafalque and preserved in his hut for many years until his successor finally buries him (Petermanns Mitteilungen, 1879, p. 392).

768 In Urundi the homestead of the dead king is abandoned as are those of deceased batwale; it gradually disintegrates and only the trees that formerly formed the fence reveal to the traveler the former importance of the site. A guard inside a 775 hut placed next to it [116] sees that nobody enters the place 769 and that the spirit of the deceased king, which, as has already been mentioned, is usually pictured as a big snake living on the site (totemism, p. 102), regularly receives sacrificial offerings of food and drink (No. 19, p. 205).

Van der Burgt reports that in honor of the dead king "heca- 766 tombs of human victims" are sacrificed (No. 19, p. 204), and 661 that some batwale and influential Barundi are executed" in order to appease the manes of the king." This presumably refers mainly to those unfortunate people who immediately after the king's death fall as victims of the policy of his successor or of the pretender to the throne, as well as the alleged sorcerers and witches who caused the king's death -- for natural death is [761] something the Barundi do not know -- and who are now hunted down by the medicine men and executed (see p. 132, 140). In former times a few young girls and important men of the country were killed at the king's funeral in order to "accompany the deceased to the beyond" (see p. 186 [not translated]).

778 Usige, these little huts are constructed so as to have two en-
346 trances, the pot inside has two spouts, the ritual tobacco pipe
[782] has two bowls; all this is probably because they are supposed to serve both the spirit of the ancestor and his wife (see Fig. 11). Van der Burgt interprets this custom as being related to the supposed bisexuality of the manes (No. 19, p. 564), yet I could not find any proof of this.

[769] The Murundi is rarely satisfied with only one ikigabiro; usually there are three or four of them dedicated to the spirits of the three or four deceased family members who were closest to him. At one time I actually counted no less than eight such sacrificial huts in one kraal.

778 The huts are consecrated by the kiranga performing the
782 ceremony of the sacred spear. While the ceremony is in
796 progress, the family members eat several kinds of food next
769 to the little "votive chapel." This is done in honor of the ancestor to whom the hut is dedicated. They deposit a small amount of each dish and a little beer in the ikigabiro. Later this offering will be repeated each time that the ceremony of the sacred spear is celebrated for some reason or other by the family concerned. Not only millet gruel and pombe beer are offered; among prosperous families the sacrifice also includes the meat of chickens, goats, rams, and even beef.

769 According to the belief of the Barundi, the ancestral
782 spirit either chooses to make the hut erected in his honor his
778 permanent residence or at least he uses it as his temporary
775 quarters in which case he will then appear as a ghost in the neighborhood. The Murundi believe that the food offerings are eaten by the spirit when in reality they have been eaten by dogs, rats, or birds. If the food remains untouched, the Murundi finds comfort in the thought that the incorporeal spirit has enjoyed only the incorporeal parts of the food, beer, and tobacco.

778 According to van der Burgt, there exists, in addition to
769 the two cult sites mentioned above, a third type which, however,
825 appears to be extremely rare. These are closed huts, two to
775 three meters high, found in the neighborhood of the sacred groves close to the old royal kraals. The one seen by van der

778 Burgt was dedicated to the manes of King Ntare (No. 19,
769 p. 565) and allegedly was the residence of a large python which
825 was the receptacle of the spirit of the dead king. The snake
775 was protected and fed by its special guards. In Ruanda and Kisiba I personally heard of such official sacred monuments. They also were inhabited by a large snake which was regarded as the vehicle of the king's soul and which was regularly fed with milk by the priest. (Cf. also No. 31, pp. 107, 130.) [137] As a rule, however, no such consecrated huts are found in the sacred groves.

778 The sacred grove (imana, iteka, intatemwa) as such is regarded as an object of deepest devotion by the Murundi (No. 19, p. 77). There are no woods in most of Urundi, and hardly any trees exist in Ruanda. Consequently, the small groups of tall fig trees towering above the ridges of hills here and there are a very characteristic feature of the scenery (Plate 29a). Everywhere they indicate the site where at one time stood the residence, the kraal (lugo, urugo), of a king or chief and where the former master himself is probably buried. After the death of the owner, his homestead is abandoned, the huts fall to pieces, and only the fig trees that formed the fence of the kraal continue to grow unhindered; from that time on, nobody may
[784] touch them or even cut them down. Like the onetime place of residence, these trees are regarded as sinister and sacred (imana, taboo). It is not simply pious feeling for the deceased which protects these trees of his former dwelling, for such gentle feelings are unknown to the Murundi. It is rather fear of the wrath of the spirits of the dead from whose graves the trees may have grown. This sentiment prevents the people from using the
[825] trees for much needed fuel. All kinds of animals live in the thicket,
[775] among them the snake which the spirit of the deceased has chosen as his new residence. Sometimes the priest of the district offers a sacrifice to the spirit by depositing food and milk for the snake.

532 The Barundi do not have any reproductions of their spirits,
776 demons and gods in the form of sculptured or carved figures or as drawings. This should not be regarded as proof of their lack

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

according to the image of the *Mwami*, and thus when some misfortune occurs, the blame is put on another name of God or on the ghosts or sorcerers.

The beneficent action of *Imana* is general and remote. *Imana* is the source of all gifts, but he does not interfere very much in individual lives unless he is invoked. He is not the vigilant deity whom no single detail of the lives of his creatures can escape and who, when he acts, takes into account all the antecedents of the situation. There is a story of a man who borrowed beans from different people. When repayment of the loans was demanded, he was always able by his wits to avoid fulfilling his obligations. One creditor—Death—insists on being paid and pursues him. The debtor, when fleeing, calls upon *Imana* who saves him.

Imana—as is illustrated by this tale—is not the guardian of ethics and social order. He is not offended when somebody is robbed, but only if the offence is directed against himself, as when somebody disobeys a particular order of his or abuses his name. Then he punishes the offender by sending him misfortunes during his earthly life.

The Spirits of the Dead

The spirits of the dead (*bazimu*), with whom *Imana* has no closer relationships than he has with living people, constitute the second category of non-material beings. They continue the individuality of living persons and have the same names. It is usual to say: 'when he will be a *muzimu*. . . .' Though non-material, they are localized by their activity, in contrast to *Imana* who, having a much wider range of action, cannot be so precisely localized. They live in the lower world whose ruler is *Nyamuzinda* ('the one with whom one is forgotten'). Banyarwanda have not elaborated a very detailed picture of post-mortem existence. Although, according to some informants, the deceased kings of Ruanda constitute a kind of governing body in the underworld, there are no social distinctions. Life is neither pleasant nor unhappy. The *bazimu* do not drink, eat, or mate but their existence in other respects is similar to that in the world of the living. The *bazimu* sometimes come back to this world, returning to the places where they used to live. An ancestor and some other spirits may stay permanently in the hut where their descendants live or in the small huts made for them in the enclosure around the dwelling.

Whatever their temper when they were in this world, the *bazimu* are bad. Direct ancestors in both lines (although the system of descent is patrilineal) are believed to protect their living descendants, if they showed them proper filial behaviour when they were in this world, if they observe prohibitions and avoidances and if they do not forget to make offerings. But all other *bazimu* belonging to one's patrilineage (*mulyango*) are always harmful. The *bazimu* of other families are less detrimental except where there are feuds between the families. Ghosts are thus essentially malevolent towards the living. At best they are not actively injurious.

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

In order not to irritate the dead various observances and interdicts must be complied with. The 'cult' of the *bazimu* is accordingly aimed at appeasing them. They are frequently offered a few drops of milk or hydromel. Sometimes they require the immolation of a goat or even a bull. A girl spends some time in the small hut dedicated to a *muzimu* in order that he may enjoy having a woman. Other practices are, however, more difficult to interpret. Water may be given to the *muzumu* while at the same time he is told very loudly that it is milk. The explanation given by most informants is that *bazimu* are rather stupid and that these mock offerings are not given to the direct ancestors, who are respected, but only to collaterals who, as *bazimu*, are hated. However, it is not very clear how one can at the same time fear the powerful *bazimu* and deceive them so grossly.

Among the *bazimu*, a small group, *Ryangombe* and his *imandwa*, is particularly powerful and important. *Ryangombe* is said to have been the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. In order not to leave *Ryangombe*, his friends threw themselves on the bull's horns. *Imana* gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they have a notably more agreeable life than the other *bazimu*. To have the privilege of joining them there, Banyarwanda have to be initiated into the sect (*kubandwa*). The members of the sect believe that non-initiates go after death into an active volcano, the Nyiragongo, where they suffer torments of fire. We have here an interesting instance of conflicting ideologies in a non-literate society: the common belief that all *bazimu* reside in the underworld and the belief of initiates, who are extremely numerous, in a mildly paradisal life for themselves and a hell for other people. During their earthly sojourn the initiates have other advantages, for the powerful *imandwa* do not harm them and indeed protect them from the injurious activities of other spirits.

The relations between *Ryangombe* and *Imana* seem to be conceived as those between a client (*mugaragu*) and his patron (*shebuja*), persons who are linked by that typical Ruanda institution called *buhake*, in which a man in an inferior situation in the scale of wealth and social power asks another to grant him his protection and the possession of some cows; in return the client becomes his patron's man and owes him various services. *Ryangombe* is believed to be protected by *Imana* and to act more or less as his intermediary with regard to the initiates. But *Imana* is not present in *Ryangombe's* paradise. The cult of *Ryangombe* has importance as a force of social cohesion. Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa may all be initiated. This function is quite overtly stressed: *Ryangombe* has said himself that he should be called upon by everybody.

Diviners and Sorcerers

Two categories of men have special relations with the invisible world: diviners (*bapfumu*) and sorcerers (*barozi*). The former are interpreters of *Imana's* will, which they can discern in the figures made by knuckle-bones,

316 The industries of Ruanda are very primitive. The country is poor in iron ore, which is hardly to be found except in the Buberuka and Kanage. The Banyarwanda extract it mostly from the Bunyabungu, southwest of Lake Kivu.

[326] They make hoes, spears, billhooks, and rudimentary knives out of it. /55/

285 Basketry is more highly developed, but except for a few small articles made rather artfully by Batutsi women in their leisure time, this industry is not especially remarkable. Workmen and artisans seek to make only what is practical. The making of pottery, as we 323 said before, is almost exclusively the prerogative of the Batwa or the Bayovu, a Muhutu /Bahutu/ clan despised almost as much as the Batwa ethnic group.

462 Women have set tasks as well as men. While they take care of the children, prepare meals, keep the hut orderly and clean, the husband milks the cows and repairs the huts. Furthermore, they are often seen working together in the fields or gathering cereals (1).

1. Grammaire Kirundi /Kirundi Grammar/ by Rev. Fr. Ménard of the White Fathers. Maison-Carrée (Algiers).

What the author says of the Barundi in his preface applies almost in toto to the Banyarwanda. The two lands and the two nations are very much alike. Except for a few small differences, the language is the same.

771 From a religious point of view, the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ 776 is extremely superstitious. He acknowledges the existence of a supreme being (Imana), creator of all things, but is not much preoccupied with him in his everyday life because that being does no harm.

●769 He cares for the ancestral spirits, whom he fears. He believes, 775 indeed, that the spirits of the dead are the authors of the evils that befall him.

769 This explains his invocations, offerings, and libations before the hood-shaped shelter that contains the angered spirit who was pointed out to him.

784 The Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ is bound by the law of taboos (imiziro).

He may not smoke or sit on a chair during a thunderstorm. A woman may not use a billhook to cut grass. She may eat only cow meat. The flesh of certain animals is forbidden, /56/ in some cases to every Munyarwanda, in others to certain clans only. The objects used by a deceased person and the food that was in the hut at the time of his death are taboo. At the end of the mourning period, all these things will be purified with lustral water. The widow herself will have to go through the rites of purification.

Work is forbidden on certain days. The relatives of a deceased person give up all their occupations for four or five days.

Upon the death of the king, all work in the fields is prohibited for three months. In certain parts of Ruanda, one stops work for one day when a child is born, when a hut has burned down, when there has been a hailstorm, even when a dog has died. Some taboos only affect the king.

763 The burial method peculiar to the Banyarwanda, which incidentally is shared by other African peoples, must now be mentioned. When a sick person is about to die and spreads his arms and legs, his relatives bring his knees up to the chin. His arms are bent at the elbows and his hands are made to cover his face.

764 This crouching position is the absolute rule among pagans. It is not far-fetched to state that this most uncomfortable position, when forced on a dying person, makes breathing very difficult and shortens his last moments.

[834] In the right hand of the deceased, one places the leaves of plants with magical properties, ishoza, umulembe, umwishwa, seeds of squash, sorghum, and issogi, and lamb's wool. All these things are symbols explained by the following words pronounced on this occasion, "Return to us as a limb (with the sweetness of a lamb)! Return to us without thorns (like the plants, soft to the touch, that we have given thee), that is to say, without mean intentions."

173 Under Ndahiro-Chyamatara, twenty-fifth in the royal lineage, the Batutsi star suffered a pronounced eclipse. The reign of this prince ended in disaster. His death is the subject of a long narrative which is recounted in the "History of Ruganzu's Reign" /Book III, not translated/. According to that episode, he sought death of his own accord in the Bugoyi forest. According to another version which seems more likely, he died at Russokovu in the Bugamba where he is said to have fallen, weapons in hand, in the course of an ill-starred expedition against the inhabitants of the area whom he apparently wished to subjugate. The region was known thereafter as the "hammer-cursed land" (i Rubi rw'inyundo), meaning that the weapons wrought with hammers produced unfortunate results in that area since they caused the death of the king and the elite of his men. It is believed that [796] [769] the annual June mourning observed at the capital (igichurassi) is held in memory and commemoration of this tragic occurrence.

This defeat had baneful consequences for the /86/ Hamitic kingdom, which until then had made continual headway in the interior of the land. Legend and tradition have drawn the picture on the dark side by stressing the tragic events.

A certain Nsibura, chief of the Banyabyinshi, who lived to the southwest of Ruanda, overran the land as a conqueror, subjugating everyone, on his path. The kingdom's misfortunes had no end, say the bards, until the day when the son and successor of the hapless prince, Ruganzu II Ndori, claimed his ancestral throne by force of arms.

Following the disaster which took the life of his father, the young prince had fled to the court of the King of Karagwe, where he was raised by his paternal aunt, the Queen. Upon his return to Ruanda, circumstances were kind to him.

His chief opponent, Nsibura, had just died in the Bugessera forest of an accident dramatized by legend. His energetic and determined character helped him a great deal in his undertakings. Ruganzu greatly expanded the boundaries of the kingdom left to him by his ancestors. No one did more than he for the unity of the monarchy.

The last autochthonous petty kings who had weathered the Hamitic invasion were subjugated by him. The Bugara beyond the

644 231 778 This animal is known by the name of Rusanga and lives with a few cows who bear the same designation, insanga (plural of Rusanga).

The bull is brought onto royal grounds from time to time, when sacrifices are performed, in its capacity as official representative of all the kingdom's cattle. Usually flanked by two cows, the bull is goaded forward by its keepers to the shelter consecrated to the spirits. [769 782] The king or the sorcerer who officiates in his name presents the animals to the royal ancestral spirits. "Here," he says, "are the herds which you have left us. We go on caring for them, and their numbers grow incessantly. Divert epizootic diseases from our cattle /357/ and spare us calamities of all kinds. Make events favorable to us, and the Europeans (who occupy the land) benevolent!" etc.

[773] In the mind of the Hamites, the observance of this rite is connected with the memory of Gihanga and his daughter Nyirarutchaba, who are credited with the introduction of cattle into Ruanda.

There is every reason to believe that in both practical and implicit fashion, the Batutsi honor thereby the memory of the Hamitic prince who actually introduced the first beeves into the country. The legend of Nyirarutchaba gradually replaced the historical event.

If one grants, on the other hand, that the Batutsi are descended from the Egyptians or from a related people, it should not be surprising to find certain vestiges of the Apis cult at the Ruanda court.

The existence of sacred herds called inyambo, and their presentation at important festivals may be interpreted in similar fashion. Their visit to the capital under the above-mentioned circumstances has the same meaning and the same sacrificial character.

Once the ceremony is completed, the animals are led back to pasture near the capital.

When the bull dies it must be replaced immediately with another. The selection which takes place is known under the name of "enthronement" or "new reign" (kwimika in Runyarwanda). This shows the importance of the event itself and the value attached to this curious tradition.

[262] Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and even eat the corpses of animals, they are strictly forbidden to taste [766] the flesh of the sacred bull. The animal is buried, and so are the INYAMBO.

644 monarch under his roof and had given him the information which permitted the Mututsi /Batutsi/ king to vanquish his rival.

3. In memory of King Gihanga, who offered the gift of fire to his son and successor, Kanyarwanda, a group of individuals chosen from the Abiru clan must watch /359/ day and night over the fire which is kept burning in the hut dedicated to that great king. The fire is preserved in a huge jar. In the old days the keepers risked their lives if they allowed the fire to go out.

4. The king of the "initiates" (umwami w'imwanda). This post still has a holder today. His name is Kabano, and he succeeded Sherangabo, who had been designated at first to fill this role.

The Hamitic prince was compelled to resign. He was blamed, among other things, for having brought the Europeans into the land, because Count von Götzen had met him at Lwamagona in the Buganza when he entered Ruanda and had taken him along as his guide. This was a mere pretext, however, for the real grievance stemmed from his royal origins. Like Musinga, a son of Lwabugiri, he was both older and better entitled to the throne by far.

The substitute who was placed at the head of the "initiates" is a Mututsi commoner. The title he bears retains its high sound, but the position has lost its importance.

Since the Hamitic monarch, according to custom, could not belong to this secret society, he himself named its chief, who represented to some extent the person of the king and fulfilled in his place the rites in honor of Ryangombe.

The king of the "initiates" formerly had certain privileges, and the members of the society could request his aid and protection in litigations. The position has become strictly honorific.

This religious society is very interesting. Its adepts are recruited from the various tribes in the nation and render continual honors to their founding ancestors, Ryangombe, Binego, Mugasa, Kagoro, Muzana, etc., through imitations of their purely physical actions, chants about their exploits, and offerings of libations or sacrifices.

All questions relating to the origins of this society remain mysterious. It is not known under what circumstances /360/ or at what

644 They were sometimes employed, in preference to other servants, to
701 lead away the convicted high-ranking offenders who were to be exe-
[68] cuted at the usual places of punishment (Buberuka, Bugessera).

I. The name of Impara is used to designate another army corps which is recruited from among the inhabitants of Kinyaga provinces. This name was also given by extension to a group of individuals who are initiates of the Ryangombe secret society and who are compelled thereby to live close to the king in order to draw upon him the favors of the shades of all those who once belonged to that religious society.

They must make an appearance when the king rises, bearing on their heads the tails of hares (amashira y' inkwavu) or of some other carnivore /sic/ like the marten (ibiharangu), which they shake
[769] to the right and to the left while singing and dancing. They hold in the hand small bells or sistra (ibinyuguri), which they ring while /389/ invoking in a loud voice the protection of Ryangombe and his companions. Aside from this beseeching role, they fulfill other functions within the king's household.

Owing to their functions as suppliants and intercessors, which is their chief role by far, they might just as correctly have been included in the category that follows.

Duties of a Supposedly Utilitarian Nature, Some of Which Are Private and Others Public and National.
Sorcerers and Diviners of All Kinds.

644 A. The Bakoma clan has already been discussed at some
791 length in "History of a Reign," /Book III, not translated/. They were direct descendants of the autochthonous petty kings of Marangara land and were formerly regarded, along with Mashira, as powerful sorcerers. It was believed that they could preserve or take life by hidden means known to them alone.

The first of those autochthonous princes, whose real name was Sekibakanyi, had a tremendous reputation. It is still said today that "Nkoma Sekibakanyi, king of Marangara, (son) of Nkondogoro, knew
[539] how to cast spells a great deal better than those things are done today" (Nkoma ya Nkondogoro ikilozi cho mu Marangara kitaloger' ubussa nk' aba none!). This phrase is now proverbial.

1 [i.e., the Intalindwa. - Ann(ys)]

783

1. A Munyarwanda would never pick up such accursed weapons, whose origin and function he knows only too well. The curse which is attached to them and the fear which they inspire cause him to go his way without a covetous glance.

In certain clans the purifier-sorcerer slips the scrapings into a sweet potato which he feeds to a goat. The latter is then sold to strangers faraway on whom falls the curse attached to the weapon which was used to commit the murder. The price of the animal, which was formerly paid in kind (hoes, peas, beans, sorghum, etc.) was renounced or thrown away. The victim's family considered that they were thus freeing themselves completely from the evil spell which befell them through the violent death of one of its members.

769 783 628 In order to pacify the spirit of the deceased, a young man of the kin group is chosen during the funeral ceremonies to avenge him. He must obtain a new /418/ spear which the purifier-sorcerer or his colleague, the "conjurer of spirits," takes from his hands in order to cut in two a plant with a mysterious property called irago or umurago. "I have 'cut up' the tribe of murderers," he says, "may they all die of it." Then, addressing himself to the deceased, "Here is the spear that will avenge you. Grant it the opportunity and the power to carry out the vendetta."

[766] According to customs peculiar to each clan, the body is exposed on a deserted hill, hidden far out in the bush in rocky crags, or buried near the village or even in the courtyard.

In the latter case, some irago, or if there is none some murago that grows in the swamps, is planted along with its roots. At the end of about a year, the sorcerer comes back to cut this plant /again/, as he did once before. Then a goat is sacrificed.

The purifier takes some of the blood of this offering and sprinkles it on the grave, saying, "Let this blood cause the entire family of the assassin to perish."

λ[i.e., of a murdered person. -Analyst]

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769

2. Throughout Ruanda, in principle, a new hut is taken over in the name of a spirit (a dead relative) whose favors are desired.

It is also in his name that one takes a wife (kumulongorer' abazimu).

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[347] This is why these women are called abaterampundu, that is, "those who utter cries of joy."

726 The duties of the aBatchaba are often identical to those of their brothers, the aBasingo, whom they assist in bewitching the enemy with teratological beings who are driven before the hostile army. Like the aBiru they also make drums.

825 The totem of the aBagessera is the wagtail, a bird of good
342 omen, which is consequently regarded as a member of the family.
644 Hence the power of the Bagessera to call this bird when needed. At court and throughout the land, there is a custom whereby no one may enter a new hut until the wagtail has made an appearance. The bird must at least flit about or hop on the flattened ground where the hut is to be built or on the hut itself. One may even wait several days if necessary /461/ rather than risk the misfortunes which invariably befall those who do not take this traditional practice into account. At the capital, therefore, theBagessera are in charge of instigating the appearance of "their relative" (mwene wabo), the congenial bird, whenever a royal building is put up.

To achieve this they take some embers from their home and light a fire before the new hut.

They sit nearby and whistle in a special way to catch the attention of their totem.

825 The wagtail is highly regarded by the Banyarwanda. In story and song it is called "the bird (inyamanza) from the region of Mabera," a once famous village inhabited by the Bagessera (1). It is located

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825 1. The regard in which the wagtail is held is the subject of a charming tale. The wagtail

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292 Lake Victoria, the kings of the Karagwe and especially those of the Usui were among the first to establish contact with the Arabs and to receive fabrics from them. Their Ruanda friends benefitted from this. Since those garments were few, /the kings/ alone wore them, and they were also given /512/ the name of imyambarabami, "the king's vestments." Upon the death of a king his garments were put away and became part of the treasure. Although they wore cloth from that time onward, the kings of Ruanda did not forsake the national costume called by the name of inkindi and made of one or two colobus pelts (inkomo), well tanned and elaborately worked. Those pelts were collected and entrusted to the keepers of the treasure (abanyabyuma), trustworthy men who were preferably chosen among chiefs or the prince's favorites. Those employees had to see to it that the belongings of dead kings were properly cared for. Those garments were beginning to pile up in the wardrobe when the revolution which overthrew King Mibambge-Rutalindwa, appointed successor of Lwabugiri-Kigeri, broke out.

The fire which consumed the huts where the royal furnishings had been stored destroyed practically everything.

It has since been attempted to build up a new treasure by choosing new lengths of fabric bought from merchants, this being now an easy proposition.

Colobus pelts were tanned to replace the old ones. The present king has secured beads, bracelets, necklaces, etc., of various sorts. They are faithfully displayed with great solemnity before the royal hut, which stands at the heart /fond/ of the first outer courtyard, at the time of the two great festivals.

It should not be assumed that this is mere ostentation, a simple display of riches.

Of course, the kings are far from insensitive to this vainglorious exhibit of antiquated frippery and trinkets, which to them were
543 supreme artistic riches. This, however, was not all. This display
769 also had the purpose of gaining the good graces of dead princes. To this end, several individuals were selected among those present to recall their memory. They were made to dress in the old or new colobus pelts /513/ which had belonged, or were supposed to have

543 belonged, to the deceased monarchs. Then they danced in honor of
769 the "spirits" of dead kings on the grounds before the king's house.
While moving about, they repeated in unison, "These are your treasures (intore), those that belonged to you. They are truly yours, those garments, those fabrics, those weapons, those beads, etc. It is in your name that we carry out these celebrations. We always remain your subjects, your lieges, your servants"....

(Tor' ibintu byawe, intore zawe; n' ibirori byawe, n'abagaragu bawe....) When the ceremony is over, the keepers of the treasure store the objects away until the following festival (1).

1. Among the original pieces included in the royal museum, there is the garment (inkindi) of the king of Urundi, Mutaga, who was killed in battle near Mwurire hill in the province of Bwana-Mkali. It is a hide, since no other garments were worn at that time, and it is altered almost beyond recognition in spite of the rancid butter with which it is constantly rubbed to preserve it. It is one of the rare trophies of victory that survived the fire caused by the Ruchunchu disaster. It is called by the name of ntizihishw' amabuno, that is to say, "that (garment) which is too short (for size)." The native expression is stronger and shows that the Banyarwanda wit never flags in situations tragic or comic.

[522]

769 The festivals and celebrations are almost invariably of a sacrificial character in the sense that the ancestral spirits are commemorated and are offered gifts in a fictitious or even a real fashion, as we shall see in the pages that follow. We shall discuss funeral
766 customs or, more exactly, those that apply to the death of the king,

767 778 178 trees and green branches. Human conscience can adapt itself to anything. The keepers, who get their share, pretend to see nothing. As a result, relatives and friends take full advantage of their tacit permission and make inconspicuous forays into the groves.

b. General honors paid to the spirits of the royal dead.

769 The dead are neither forgotten nor forsaken. Superstitious fear plays its part in the cult of the dead. /532/ The Blacks' fear of the dead recalls them constantly to the remembrance of the living (1). From

1. The muzimu retains "the passions, tastes, inclinations, and grudges that characterized it during the material life span of the individual whose existence it perpetuates spiritually after death." (Maurice Delafosse.) To the natives, this belief explains and justifies the cult of spirits.

time to time and in important circumstances, when real or imagined calamities threaten, the drums are beaten in their honor.

Huts (indaro) of varying size are raised on their graves, and sacrifices performed in them to pacify and ingratiate their spirits.

At certain times, young bulls are sent from the capital and immolated by the sacrificers with pomp and solemnity.

The things most readily sent are small earthenware vessels, rounded, rather graceful, (uruherezo, imperezo), filled with banana wine, which the keepers offer as a libation to the dead kings in order to win their support.

[778] Similar sacrifices were, and still are, performed occasionally at the sites of numerous former royal dwellings: at Lwamaraba near the Kabgayi mission, at Mwurire near the Savé mission, at Lussagara near Nyaluhengeri, in honor of Lwabugiri, Lwogera, and another Mutara, a son of Ruganzu II, to mention only a few (2). /533/

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Since it was impossible to escape, Chief Seruteganya set fire to himself (aritwika), the queen mother, and his two sons, Mulangire and Sebugigi.

Another tradition adds that Lwabugiri wanted to spare his mother, but that as she attempted to escape she was murdered by one of the sons of her second husband.

•769 [609] The king treats other dead members of his family with the same solicitude. He follows the same line of behavior toward people who are complete strangers to him but whose wrath he fears. Musinga has already caused propitiatory victims to be offered several times to Kabale, his maternal uncle, who died in 1912. In order to pacify his spirit more effectively, the sacrifices took place at Mbuye, in one of the favorite former dwellings of the powerful minister. Karara, one of the many blood brothers of the present king, who died at Ruchunchu, was granted the same honors when he showed signs of discontent.

769 766 791 As a result of this belief that the dead may do harm to the living, a group of sorcerers arose to whom the king resorts when an important political prisoner is executed. Those sorcerers are called "exhumers" or "mutilators of cadavers" (ababūzi), a word derived from the verb kwabūra, "to exhume a cadaver," for no sooner is the condemned man dead than they cut off his little right finger (umuhèra) and his little right toe (akajanja). They also take strips of flesh from the body of the victim, who henceforth will be unable to do any harm. The aim of this posthumous mutilation is called urukagiro, meaning "obstacle," "hindrance" (from the verb gukagira, "to hinder").

Sorcerers in this category handle those human strips at some length and finally bury them in an anthill hole (umulerajuru). /534/

769 [775] c. Special honors rendered to dead kings, or hierogamies. The Blacks are convinced that the spirits of the dead retain their hatreds and passions. To humor them, therefore, is to the best advantage of the living. The means used to this end are of course

769 similar to those used to conciliate men one deals with. The spirits are presented with pleasant offerings; they are fed; they are ingratiated in many ingenious ways.

In other words, they are regarded after death as human beings who have retained their faculties for enjoyment.

We have already seen that in order to gain their good graces one offers them libations, and sacrifices, and one beats the drums in order to remind them of their royalty and to prove to them at the same time that they are still regarded as kings. This is done not only on their tombs, in the important cemeteries, but also at the sites of their former favorite residences. This last procedure is believed to be more gratifying to them.

By reason of their fear and respect, the Banyarwanda usually avoid building too close to former capitals, and keep at a distance from them. In the Bwana-Mukali in the village of Lussagara, the inhabitants of the hill bury their dead far away in the forest so as not to defile the ground that was often trod by Lwogera and Lwabugiri.

Aside from these precautions and cares, the reigning princes have set up for each of their dead predecessors a true family home with wife and servants, including even the small traditional herd, in order to honor them and to obtain their protection.

It will be recalled that Chyilima-Rugwe is believed to have reigned only a short time. As a result, it is thought that he has retained an unpleasant memory of his stay on the throne.

Moreover, he refused to leave the country (yanze kuva mu Ruanda) and continues to exist in the form of a leopard which is often seen, so the natives say.

In order to pacify /535/ his spirit, which is perennially dissatisfied (yarushije abandi gukaliha), a large hut has been erected for him at the very spot where he was buried. A keeper maintains it in good order and watches over the preservation of a herd of cows which is said to belong to Chyilima himself. A woman is in attendance on him.

[588] From time to time, a young girl is appointed by the diviner-sorcerers to be his new wife. The keeper substitutes for the dead king /in this connection/.

769 588 As a rule, the girls are sent back to their families after a short stay in the hut of the spirit, but an appointed woman must always remain there. At Idjuru, about halfway along the road leading from the Kabgayi mission to Kigali, a clump of trees marks the site of the ancient residence of King Yuhi-Mazimpaka. Legend tells us that this place was the scene of a prodigious event following the death of the prince. He had barely been mummified and buried in the Rutare cemetery when the earth began to tremble at Idjuru. While a heavy rain poured down, the sound of clashing horns (amahembe arakomangana) was distinctly heard. Yuhi-Mazimpaka made it known thereby that he insisted on being cared for and on having his dwelling maintained. His wishes were fulfilled. In addition to a large hut, he was granted on the spot a small herd of cows called indoha because their lowing is harmonious. Furthermore, a woman lives there permanently for his pleasure, not to mention his temporary wives.

At the capital, inside the royal enclosure, there are numerous huts dedicated to the spirits of former kings. Although they are used for the various services entailed by the royal way of life, those huts are also consecrated to the memory of each of the deceased monarchs. The women who occupy them, while they are part of the harem, are also regarded as wives of the sovereigns whose huts they inhabit. As far as the lesser /536/ dead princes are concerned, it is considered sufficient to raise little girls at court who are occasionally made to enter the huts (indaro) dedicated to the spirits. The girls are sprinkled there with lustral water (ingwa, "chalky water"). Their royal (deceased) husbands are satisfied with this ceremony.

769 372 In the large hut consecrated to King Gihanga, a fire is maintained night and day, in a huge earthenware jug (intango), which is replaced when worn out.

King Gihanga, the alleged inventor or creator of fire, bequeathed it to his son Kanyarwanda. Fire is maintained in his hut in memory of this inestimable gift. Theoretically, no one but the king may take a brand from it to light his pipe. To allow this fire to go out or to be taken by unhallowed hands might have entailed death in the old days. A group of individuals chosen from the Abiru clan are in charge of watching this fire.

769 d. The cult of Kibogo and the observance of a day of rest.
773 As for Kibogo, a brother of Ruganzu II and son of King Ndahiro, although he never ascended the throne, he is honored in a special way owing to his role as Liberator. It will be recalled that he was appointed by the diviners to save the land and bring a drought to a close. He was taken to the sky and wrapped in a cloud, and his ascension had fortunate consequences for Ruanda. Each newly elected prince builds him a separate dwelling outside the royal enclosure, so that Kibogo will truly be "at home." The hut consecrated to him is surrounded by a large and beautiful courtyard. A woman lives there and cares with her servants for the traditional herd of cows assigned to the purely theoretical "needs" of the spirits.

769 The present monarch complied with this custom by building him a home, as his predecessors did, /537/ which is altogether separate from the other dwellings and which is still designated by the name of "Kibogo's place." He even has a special drum, which emphasizes further the importance of the role he played in the past.

537 The Kibogo episode is connected with a curious practice which is still observed today in some provinces. It consists of stopping work in the fields once every five days, but in the morning only. This practice gave rise to the well-known word chumweru, which contains the meaning of "white" and "whiteness" and which the Christians have adopted now to designate Sunday.

On what occasion and at what time did the Banyarwanda choose this day? Some trace the custom back to Gihanga the Creator. It is not unusual, indeed, to hear on the lips of pagans the expression Chumweru cha Gihanga, "Gihanga's white day."

Others say that Chumweru was a man in Kibogo's retinue. He belonged to the Basindi clan, they add, and he lived at Ruhina, not far from the present Kabgayi mission. He was in the service of Kibogo and watched over his crops (guhingishiriza). He went along with his master on the day of his "ascension," carrying around his neck the small bag (uruhago) of banana-tree fiber which contained his chief's pipe and tobacco.

The cloud seized them all together.

527 As we can see, the origins of this practice are obscure. Could a trace of the Sabbath or Sunday be involved here?

The hypothesis would be fairly plausible, especially if one supposes that the Batutsi originally came from Egypt or Abyssinia.

Whatever may have been the origin of this practice, it used to be strictly observed. Many pagans who live far from European settlements still observe it today. Like their ancestors, /538/ they [821] lend it a superstitious meaning. If hail should fall on that day, they would not fail to attribute it to a supernatural punishment and to place the responsibility on those who were caught breaking the rule. "One didn't hesitate," the elders relate, "to insult the delinquents, to rob them or even to strike them if need be, and it was not unusual to be taken to task, so highly was this custom regarded."

769 The great chiefs also do for the dead members of their families, proportionately speaking, what the king does for his own ancestors (1). Each of the huts which make up their homes, for usually

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1. The Bega preferably take their dead to the Budaha region, which is one of their fees. The regent Kabale and one of his favorite wives, Kirumwero, were buried in the village of Ngoma, near Gatare hill. His father Lwagara had been buried at Gisunzu, not far from Munzanga, and his brother Lwibishengo at Nyamutukura. His son Nyantabana and one of his grandsons were interred at Lwasankuba.

The Banyiginya choose their burial sites in enemy country to check invasions and to wreak evil on foreigners (Abanyamuhanga).

Before it was joined to the Crown, the isle of Idjwi served as a final

764 resting place for several important members of this clan.

Other Banyiginya were buried in Urundi and in the Bugessera province, which borders on that country. The dead sons of Musinga, who number at least five or six, rest there in their last sleep.

The deceased are usually buried in a hut. In the Budaha, the owner of a hut that served as a Mwega's tomb cannot leave the dwelling until about a year later. He is forced to remain there to prevent sorcerers from digging up the body.

769 there are several, is dedicated to a spirit in whose honor they marry a woman whom they later keep or discard, depending on their whims and fancies.

Well-off Bahutu attempt to imitate the great, but their huts [343] are usually few in number. So as not to be inferior to those they emulate in their superstitions, they build around their dwelling several tiny huts (indaro) which often consist merely of two or three sticks planted in the ground and barely bound at the top by a small band. /539/

4. The Annual Mourning Period of Fifteen Days in the Month of June, Which Ends With an Important Celebration

765 769 771 The famous annual mourning period of 15 days takes place during the last fortnight of the lunar month called by the native name of Gichurassi, which corresponds approximately to our month of June. In principle the king alone is supposed to go into mourning, but the whole court joins him for the sake of solidarity. At that time, the

765 prince must cast aside his ornaments and retain only ordinary clothes.
769 No marriage ceremony may take place. Games and dances are
796 prohibited. Among the drums, only the Ndamutsa is heard around nine o'clock in the morning.

When the mourning period is nearly over, the chiefs have beer brought in from various parts of Ruanda in preparation for the closing celebration (gukur' igichurassi, "to chase away the month of mourning"). On the eve of the day appointed for the festivities, the small drum (ishako) is heard at four different times during the night to herald the great solemn occasion. At dawn other instruments join in. Joyous shouts rise on all sides and the crowd rushes to the huge esplanade where the festival is to take place.

Continuous dancing follows, with pages and other specialists participating. The members of the Ryangombe secret society, their faces smeared with white, observe their usual ceremonies. Sacrifices are offered.

The sacred cows appear on the square and contribute in no small way to the original character of the festivities. Needless to say, beer flows freely.

As for finding out in whose honor the mourning is held, this is no easy matter. The chroniclers do not agree on this score. /540/ Some say that it is held in honor of all kings; others add that it is held in honor of a queen whose name has been forgotten. The majority state that it is observed in memory of Ndahiro.

The latter's death is said to have occurred precisely during the month of Gichurassi and in the circumstances we have already mentioned. We leave it to better informed people to cut those Gordian knots.

of praise nor boasts about his deeds and the number of enemies he has slain. During kichurasi they content themselves with simple clapping (kukoma mukono). People do not wear their better clothing or ornaments. Even the bulls are removed from the herds. All life that has its beginning during this period is regarded as unclean and is killed.

The period of mourning ends with the kichurasi full moon. They begin to beat the drums, very softly and very little on the first day, somewhat more on the second, until on the third day the regular beating is resumed. On the eleventh day the chiefs bring the king presents, get drunk on beer, and sacrifice sterile cows.

The end of the month of kichurasi is celebrated with a great feast for which the ntore gather at court. The feast is called kukura kichurasi. [297] I could not determine whether this feast has any connection with the myth about the redeemer (mutabazi).

This is the time of the great ceremonies of the babandwa and of sacrifices (kuterekera).

The lunar month is divided up according to the phases of the moon. Thus they speak of: imboneko, "emerging moon"; kwezi, "waxing moon"; inzoro, "full moon"; mizima, "waning moon"; imfunda, "disappearing moon." These designations, however, do not correspond to the weeks. The weeks have five to six days and are determined by the relationship of free days to compulsory work days.

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Chapter 15

Religion and Related Matters

Ancestor Worship. The religious views of the Banyaruanda do not fit into a compact, harmonious system. This is probably due not only to the low level of development of their religion, but also to the dissimilarity of the Batutsi and Bahutu cultures which have influenced each other.

Ancestor worship is the basis of religious beliefs in Ruanda as well as in the rest of the interlacustrine region.

• 769 The bazimu, the spirits of the dead, are feared. They are not good. They are responsible for the misfortunes and torments that plague one. In Mulera, at any rate, this may be related to the well-known unfortunate position of old men.

Every father of a family offers sacrifices to his ancestors and his deceased relatives in the ndaro, the small grass huts near his compound and the place where the spirits dwell. Ndaro means "sleeping place," "resting place," and, according to Father Buisson, is derived from the verb kurara "to sleep." I should like to point out, however, the similarity between this word and ndako which in the Bangala and Ababua [Babua] dialects simply means "house." Sacrifices are also made in the sacred niche of every hut.

782 769 For sacrifices to the manes, a fire is built in front of the huts and around it sticks are placed in the ground, to which are fastened small bits of meat, lumps of umutsima, etc. Small vessels (imperezo) of beer are also set out. These offerings are taken from the meat and umutsima (stiff millet mush) which the sacrificer brought with him. The rest he eats himself.

[299] Offerings are also placed inside the huts. Frequently the more valuable offerings are only temporarily exposed. Later they are eaten by the family of the sacrificer. This is said to be the case when, in accordance with custom, the foreleg of a slain animal is offered for a deceased girl. This is not always true, however, for I repeatedly saw rotting forelegs of goats hanging in the ndaro. "To offer to the spirits" is called kutonora bazimu. To the spirits of one's parents the ribs and entrails of slain animals are usually offered.

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775 823 Fig. 162. Sacrificial Vessel for Beer, Muiera. (1/4 actual size. HI E13096. 8 centimeters high.)

Underworld. Not all the spirits of the dead remain in the vicinity of their ndaro to be taken care of by their families and to lead a peaceful existence. Many spirits, after death, live in the volcanoes, and the activity of these fire mountains is connected with them.

According to the Balera, Ryangombe is said to live in Muhawura with the souls of those who were dedicated to him in life. They constitute his court and his retinue.

At the court of Ryangombe there are not infrequently angry disputes among his retinue. Then they usually throw stones, and

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in Kiziba as a Bahima spirit. This is confirmed by the fact that during the initiation ceremonies the female representative of Ryangombe [307] drinks only millet beer. This points to the steppes northeast of the Victoria-Nile from whence, according to tradition, the Batutsi-Bahima once immigrated.

The relationship of the secret cult with the Batutsi stratum is most vividly characterized by the fact that in Kissaka, as well as in the rest of Ruanda, there are many Christians who are Bahutu, but almost none who are Batutsi. The superior social organization of the country makes possible the spread of Christianity. This is also demonstrated by the many Bahutu converts. Among the Batutsi, however, Christianity collides with another well-organized cult which can nullify its progress.

Father Paul Loupias represents the view that the Ryangombe cult is a Bahutu cult. In support of this theory he mentions [643] that a king's son consecrated to Ryangombe, for example, Ishirangabo, the brother of Musinga, loses the right to become king.

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The conception of the kingdom of dead souls and the great power of Ryangombe, whose name one does not dare pronounce without trembling and to whom only the consecrated may offer sacrifices, is in sharp contrast to the idea of the spirits of dead ancestors who remain in intimate contact with the living Bahutu, who live with them, are fed and cared for by them. This contrast permits the assumption that we have here a mixture of very different ideas. Without doubt we are confronted here in the field of religion with the difference between two cultures which have affected each other, the Batutsi and the Bahutu.

[778] Fig. 163. Biheko Iron Rods from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E13770 and III E13727. Length, 130 and 111 centimeters.)

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In the ritual

sphere, there was the initiation of a member of the inzu into the Ryangombe sect. Ryangombe was supposed to have been during his life the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. Unwilling to leave Ryangombe, his friends threw themselves on the buffalo's horns. Imana gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they were believed to enjoy a notably more agreeable life than the other spirits. In order to have the privilege of joining them there and of enjoying their protection while living, Ruanda had to be initiated into Ryangombe's sect (to be initiated: *kubandwa*). This sect was not a permanent organization, in the sense that churches are. It was only for an initiation ceremony that people who were members of the candidate's inzu as well as members of the sect, came together. An initiator and the different people who were going to impersonate the imandwa (Ryangombe's friends) were chosen from the inzu concerned. The initiation ceremony took place in a hut, secretly (in the sense that non-initiates were not admitted, but not in the sense that affiliation to the sect was kept secret). It was an occasion for the gathering of the inzu as the great majority of its members, men and women, particularly among the Hutu, were initiated.

A second collective ritual was celebrated yearly in the inzu to honour the ancestor of the lineage (*guterekera*: to make an offering to a *muzimu*—a spirit). Presents were offered in the little hut dedicated to the ancestor's spirit in the lineage head's compound. They consisted of what the deceased person liked most in life (milk, hydromel, beans, &c.). This celebration lasted six days and six nights and took place after the sorghum harvesting, in July. There was a kind of ritual meal at the inzu head's compound in which every descendant of the ancestor participated (a cow, a goat, or beans were eaten according to the means of the people). This custom was more widespread among the Hutu than among the Tutsi, where, also, more restraint in eating, drinking, and feasting was observed.

Another collective activity of the inzu was the meeting of councils in which all the important members of the inzu sat. Sometimes all the adults joined, but it was certain that the opinions of only the old, wealthy, and politically powerful men would prevail. The questions discussed concerned proposals of

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conditions it was evidently impossible to socialize and to educate together all the children of the same polygynous family.

The father had very considerable authority to punish during the period of the educational processes, and could even go as far as to curse and disinherit his sons. He could not use such drastic punishments for daughters except in the case of a pregnancy of an unmarried one. Then she could be killed, but mainly because such an event was regarded as being unlucky for the whole lineage. This case has to be interpreted in connexion with those others in which the father could condemn a daughter to death for fear of her conveying ill-luck: these were should her breasts not develop or should she have no periods. The father could appeal to the inzu head when he was unable to discipline his children and the married children could appeal to him when they had been punished by sanctions they found too heavy.

(e) Ritual function

The inzu ancestor was honoured mainly in the compound of the patrilineage head. A small hut was devoted to him and on certain occasions all his descendants met to make offerings to him. Some of these occasions were fixed, others were decided only after consulting a diviner.

In each compound there was also a small hut dedicated to the spirits of the dead, where the ancestor of the patrilineage was honoured. The wife could not build there a hut for her own ancestors. Nearer forbears were honoured in the compound more than the inzu's ancestors: the husband's grandfather or great-grandfather. The husband introduced his wife to him saying: 'Here is the woman I have taken in order to beget children for you, to multiply your lineage.' The bull used for stud purposes was also presented to the great-grandfather's spirit. Not only forbears but other dead members of the patrilineage or the family were honoured, but less often.

Almost every day small offerings were made. A few drops of milk or of beer, or some beans or peas were thrown into the hut. Or a girl spent some time in the ancestor's hut to enable him to enjoy a woman. But sometimes the spirits required more.

We have mentioned earlier that they were often angry and could send illnesses, sterility, cattle-epidemics, and death. They were regarded as beneficial only in a negative way, i.e. when they did

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not injure the living. Consequently the cult addressed to the *bazimu* (spirits of the dead) was essentially aimed at appeasing them. When an unfortunate event was ascribed to a dead relative's ire by the diviner, the spirit had to be placated by the immolation of a goat or even a bull.

These practices were symbolic. It was not implied that the *bazimu* really drank the milk, ate the meat, or slept with the girl. When a goat or a steer was offered, most of it was eaten by members of the family. Other practices are more difficult to interpret. It sometimes happened that water was given to the spirits and at the same time they were told very loudly that it was milk. The explanation given by most informants is that *bazimu* were regarded as rather stupid and that these mock offerings were not given to the ancestors who were respected but only to the collaterals who, as *bazimu*, were hated. To have feared powerful *bazimu*, however, and at the same time to have deceived them so grossly does not appear very coherent and requires, I think, further explanation.

Every fourth reign, there was an important ritual connected with the final burial of the fourth predecessor of the king. As all *bazimu* were thought to accompany the spirit of the king long ago deceased, their cult was abolished. The inzu heads, however, continued to be remembered.[12]

[12] Kagame, 1947, pp. 377-86.

Towards her grand- *Ethel M. Albert*

603 children, a grandmother may at last dare to indulge openly in
554 revealing her sentiments, without, however, neglecting practical considerations. Grandparents joke with their grandchildren, spoil them, protect them against their parents' anger, and, if they are
[769] not believing Christians, they expect their grandchildren will in due course perform the ceremonies in honour of the *imizimu*, the spirits of dead grandparents.

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577 The most direct route to happiness is conformity to the norms
829 and rules of society. Most Rundi have some roles in which they are superior and others in which they are inferior and the accompanying obligations and compensations. A good wife of a generous and reasonable husband, a good mother of numerous and good children, a good mother-in-law of obedient and industrious daughters-in-law and of respectful sons-in-law, will be a happy woman. Unfortunately, it is necessary to take into account the ever-present and infamous "bad characters", the numberless misfortunes sent by *Imana* when he is in a bad humour, the truth that *Imana*—or, if one prefers, Nature, biology, or genetics—does not always pay attention to social norms. Thus, it can happen that a man is not qualified for the role of patriarch, that he suffers all his life the oppression of a nagging shrew. It can happen that a woman is born too weak for manual labour. If she does not find a kind husband who will carry the burden of the work of the household or a rich one who can provide her with workers, she will die very miserable and very young. It can also happen that a woman is more intelligent and more enterprising than her father, her husband, or her son. A woman of this kind is ordinarily encouraged to make use of her gifts—intelligence must not be wasted—but sometimes an energetic woman is tied to a husband who is cruel and stupid and can do nothing with her good-for-nothing sons. In the social life of Burundi, the motto is, everyone for himself. Each must do what he can with whatever *Imana* has given him.

There are many Rundikazi who are unfortunate and wretched—
[562] orphans, the daughters of avaricious and cruel fathers, the wives of bad husbands, childless widows, the poor and the sick—in brief, those who do not have the favour of *Imana*. Let us pass in sad silence from their pathetic lot to the more fortunate women, those who have succeeded, despite the inevitable woes of life, in obtain-
562 ing at least some measure of happiness, and to the true favourites
554 of *Imana*, the well-born women who are at maturity true matriarchs. The absolute quantity of power and wealth depends upon birth. A